/230 cont./

793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [191] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] 535 584 [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[634] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the 177 178 574 576 [192] man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 796 533 778 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykey his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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2: Schaden--21 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked [197] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive [177] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into [166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the [177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192 poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytĩ or puitĩ of the rural
435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (oreguá raguĩ), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
• [171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192 more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482 is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but [illegible]
[286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of
[192] industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

2: Schaden--50 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/46 cont./

171 221 771 796 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 221 241 796 177 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe. The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 22 184 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups, the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year. Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 22 184 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year; this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

244 22

2: Schaden--51 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beams are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. [434] And since the changa is one of the few means available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 396 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is <u>one</u> annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the <u>ñemongaraí</u>, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, <u>avatí-mongaraí</u>, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 22 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/50 cont./

243 796 824 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú fiandé avatí mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú fiandé avatí fiahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá fiandé avatí djýguẽ); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahẽi kĩvira angáre).

241 791 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomach-aches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 562 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary importance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as [177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca [171] always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for [192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kãtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kãtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. [192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[71] [192] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

2: Schaden--65 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirê, peráta: pirápirê, paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

436 829 177 454

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/, Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

423 171

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

2: Schaden--66 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/57 cont./

423 [171] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case,

476 171 one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirĩ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõmoõña as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/69 cont./

861 155 157 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

856 [846] To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The restrictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn baby. The magic means that are put into practice during childhood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles). Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morning bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. -- Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

856 [171] 856 178 615 856 789 [171] 856

828 856 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/72 cont./

829 87 177 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in order that their son could keep company with the scholastic group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. [171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children [171] were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 [596] The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the great-family. According to Linton (3),

> 3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
> Linton, 1945, p. 142.

> the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an 15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

/75 cont./

582 Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal
•171 uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5).

5. /From p. 84 of the original source./ As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage: the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim, 582 1939, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1952.

582 I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among
121 the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague: while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece
582 with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Ñandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

/79 cont./

178 581 596 586 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [851] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

[171] [606] [591]

612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /so/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifications. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

[829]

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. [171] The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade [114] -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding [196] "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépotá [827] used for the mother, and only the Mbyá consider her (odjeko)aku; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; [184] the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that [189] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions [114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

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considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

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[751]
[824]

During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

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2: Schaden--112 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

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881 262 753 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt. At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should [263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 82 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/, which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, particularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[ML] The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the [184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá, for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among •[171] the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 882 178 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses, the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstruation, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

2: Schaden--129 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/104 cont./

624 554 622 554 756 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material advantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with exceptional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians, mestiços, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per [435] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by [465] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from [171] southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the [184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbyá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

[177] [62] Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 794 121 According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

• [191] The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

2: Schaden--137 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poydjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
179 admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
833 belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykey."
779 But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykey wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
774 the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
776 because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykey to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

2: Schaden--138 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

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Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avákaudjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

2: Schaden--140 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djerokỹ (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãỹ (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

2: Schaden--141 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

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Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the ñanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognises the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the ñanderú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

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77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanénei (gué), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
• [171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
799 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
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14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the paxé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order [262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zixi of [115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with [055] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the porãí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the re-
[076] ligious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

2: Schaden--164 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

2: Schaden--165 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

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761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned,
[114] it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

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764 178 184 [171] [756] [534] Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day immediately after the death, it falling to the ñanderú to plant the cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 177 178 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Perufbe and Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact [775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguêry that the Guaraní have.

768 [764] [178] In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they abandoned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 177 178 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

2: Schaden--179 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guaraní SM4

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrosuí confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in [171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night: guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the [775] [171] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighboring Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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765 177 [775] [1911] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to the what V. D. Watson states (19) --

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19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [782]

764 775 [793] Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

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The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Ikariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká í) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvytá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

[184] [533] 534 171

534 123 797 177

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

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As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention: one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

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/153 cont./
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• 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534
[322
[824 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782
[789 In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of
[824 katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

2: Schaden--199 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
177 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
• [171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
987 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength: the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. 789 177 On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. [MM] With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [191] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it: nobody sees it,

2: Schaden--204 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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539 8. Éguedjý, tũpã ray: djadjapó piẽta porã, djadjapó piẽta, overá.
533 (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahú songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

/161 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./

existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung aus Prasilig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karaíb /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future. -- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

2: Schaden--206 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/161 cont./

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

2: Schaden--209 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guaraní problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1950. In 1952 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Métraux told me that he had found it among the Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Munduruku /Mundurucu/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./ "At the end of the world, Karusakaybé will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1951, p. 922.

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no small Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 137-139.

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In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Dyoí, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual tradition of the tribe had been adulterated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guaraní representations.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

INTRODUCTION

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THE Cayuá are a little known forest people of Tupí-Guarani stock. They have lived on the fringes of European settlement in the New World for some three hundred and fifty years but, as far as we know, they were not extensively influenced by European culture during most of this time. The Spanish and Portuguese never came in sufficient numbers, or often enough, or close enough seriously to disturb the Cayuá culturally or geographically. At times, however, they came close enough to the Cayuá as to leave no doubt about the fact of white presence, and they did extensively affect other Guarani-speakers, neighbors of the Cayuá. We therefore have the case of a people "introduced" to European ideas gradually over a long period of time and without shock, having only a limited acquaintance with the invading culture for two or three centuries before direct or intensive impingement. The last fifty years almost certainly comprise the period of more intensive contact. (Undoubtedly such cases as the Cayuá will become more frequent in the literature as certain remote tribes are studied.) We should expect the result to be a much more satisfactory adjustment, with less internal cultural conflict for the Cayuá, when finally they faced the direct and unabating influences of the alien culture.

Early cultural influences from the whites were in a very real sense mediated or even "filtered" for the Cayuá through the cultures of other, missionized or peonized, aborigines who were in direct contact. The filtering effect of this cultural mediation was, moreover, increased because the intervening groups were apparently of much the same culture as Cayuá. The results of the adoption of a given trait, or the reaction to a new condition, would therefore tend to be substantially alike in both Cayuá and intervening groups. The Cayuá might in this manner receive alien influences already reworked, or partially so, into forms, uses, meanings, and functions immediately more harmonious to their culture. An analogy can be made with the position of Europeans who arrive in a colony where others before them have worked out many of the problems of life under colonial conditions. As a result of such filtering and because of their indirect contact with whites, the Cayuá might tend to adopt only the more viable of alien traits; they would in any case have a long and relatively unhurried period for adjusting to whatever new elements were presented.

Something of the same type of acculturational result as suggested for the Cayuá is also indicated by Nordenskiöld for the Ashluslay of the Chaco: [171]

> The positive influence of white culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the White man. Thus the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times, the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guaraní to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guaraní peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guaraní. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guaraní tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guaraní peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupí are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guaraní peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1946, 1: 212.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*xovahvé*) and possibly some sort of pee-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokué* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the *Jesuits* and from *Dr. Rengger*, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of c[illegible]lture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitatu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capinara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatá* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a [462] fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBiróBa* (*Mirtacea* [252] family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *araticá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cáuí'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *yaá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterised as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horisontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horisontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amasonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue.

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caràguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocói* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[46]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[44] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[45] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[46]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[47] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[46] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [45] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[46] *Ibid.* [47] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[46] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[47]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[48]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[49] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[50] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakuá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeitá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[46] Métraux, 1928, p. 130. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[48] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guaraní women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[49] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [50] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

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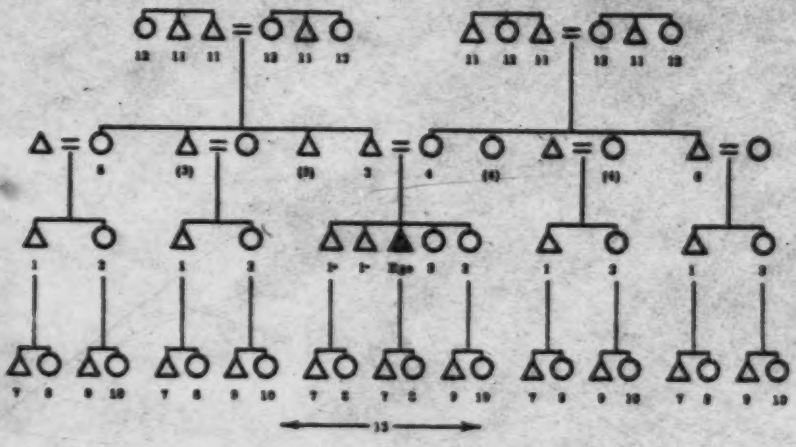
to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)
+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22–23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

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considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations. But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupí-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *ławɨ́ɣ*, was almost

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avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapái* to lurking raiders.[74] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[75] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[76]

[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[75] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestizo adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [76] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

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This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[70] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[70] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

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with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*paʼí*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *paʼí*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapéi* of the *paʼí*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*paʼí*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

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secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[88] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[88] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

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not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milrèis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brasilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[137] Gras, 1930.

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*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[143] The *puʒirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puʒirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[144]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puʒirão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[145] Some individuals say that *puʒirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puʒirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãuĩ'*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cãuĩ'* that keeps the *puʒirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puʒirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puʒirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokwé*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *changa* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãuĩ'* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[146] Nor is the large-scale *puʒirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puʒirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puʒirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puʒirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

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[191] [19] [143] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the *"grupos de trabalho"* (work-groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tapirapé.

[144] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puʒirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[145] It is true, of course, that the *puʒirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[273] [433] [146] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãuĩ'*, mentioned *supra*, p. 30. There is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãuĩ'* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokwé* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãuĩ'*.

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position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brasil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[115]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[115] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

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*177 why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Con-
182 ceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt
241 so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things
462 being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[180]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present
[412] Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[181] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

[464] The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[180] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[583] [171]

[181] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant *men*, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

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this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[188]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[188] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

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*177 182 596 594 621

tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family, for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapúi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapúi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapúi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapúi*, they have certainly not made *tapúi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

[171]

[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapúi* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapiri) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[175]

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[176] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[177] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

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[175] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[176] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit.

[177] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men.

/44 cont./

121 178 182 60 433 [124] economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have indications that certain features of the kinship system have also changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are not known, just as the relations between them and that of the economy are not, although we may have indications that they exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes beyond the scope of the present article.

• 171 175 582 604 [113] A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as early as the sixteenth century (9)

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113] 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 604 124 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of

/45 cont./
124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.
[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
•171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

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Catanduvá are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá* (*Kayguá*).

The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Nototocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

At present most of the *Caingué* groups are in constant contact with the Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingué* work as peons in the estancias, in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes, tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

Population.—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingué* at about 3,000.

Sources.—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingué* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingué* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingué*. On the *Cayué* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingué*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingué*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

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ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12).

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Caingué*.

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel.

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

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dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Rio de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solis expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 648 [316]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

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175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
797 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps
178 superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingud*, who are said to be
[433] unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
[262] *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
[71] fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method [821] in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingud* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingud* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingud* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingud* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

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252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. [413] Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [239] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

231 178 179 797 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

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influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[3a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

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501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[295] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paĩ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[172] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[293] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

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The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played

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games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century.

Today the *Caingud* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances.

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments.

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingud*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingud*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingud* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire.

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingud* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingud* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest.

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingud* prepare mead, which may be quite strong.

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Apapocuva

[P 90-B]

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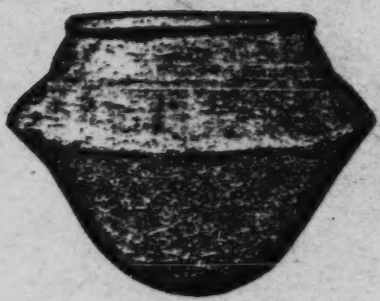
415

a

b



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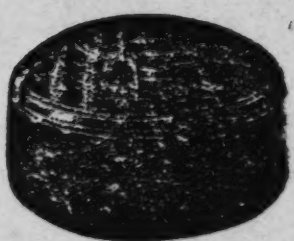

d

e

PLATE 12.—**Guaraní and other pottery from Paraguay.** *a*, *b*, Painted; *c*, plain; *d*, *e*, probably *Mbayá-Guana* incised ware. (Courtesy Max Schmidt.)

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Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guaraní*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guaraní* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

/329 cont./

Ce 172 167 [197] clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

C 181 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

C 177 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

Ce 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

C A 415 171 /406 cont./ following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A 171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located east of the Andes."

C A 415 171 C [126] 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí valley (Plate XXVI, 2), is almost the same as that of the "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 415 171 C [172] 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2 is composed of two superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone, the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

C G 415 171 172 ●

1/2 [See p. 179--Analyst]
2/2 [See p. 183--Analyst]